

The collection of the revenue by direct taxation would not only correct these inequalities, but great-

6. The primary and essential rights of humanity are, the right to occupy a portion of the earth's surface, with its free atmosphere, the right of self-ownership, the right to possess and to wield at discretion the powers conferred by the Creator, for the original ends of their bestowment, in the well-being of

ly reduce the national expenditures, now lavished for the support of slavery.

It would virtually disband the army and navy; those implements of the slave power and of wicked and bloody wars. It would reduce the needless pecuniary patronage of the federal government, with which the slave power corrupts the nation, and upon which it fattens and riots. It would oblige the slave States to emancipate the slaves, thus converting their taxable human chattels into free laborers and taxpayers.

12. "*The tariff as it is*," both for protection and revenue, we conceive to be the grand fortress, (so far as the action of the Federal government is concerned) of the **SLAVE POWER**. By its "protective" feature it bribes the northern manufacturing capitalist to support its Mexican wars, the expenses of which are defrayed by the "revenue" feature of the same tariff; and we know of no better way to wage a political warfare with the monster, than by storming him in his own chosen citadel.

The abolition of the Custom House (which for its oppressions, its manifold corruptions and its impositions ought to have been abolished long ago, on its own account) we are confident would abolish slavery, and that without any violation of the Constitution, even by the construction of any class of exponents. *Why should it not be done?*

13. At all events, the Federal Government is authorized and bound to carry out the grand and declared objects of the Federal Constitution, to "establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." In other words, it is authorized and bound to abolish injustice and repress despotism and slavery.

Slavery in the United States is illegal, unconstitutional and anti-republican. The Federal Judiciary is bound thus to decide, in the case of any slave claiming his freedom. It is the business of the Federal Government, (and consequently of the voter,) to provide such a Judiciary. And Congress is bound to "guarantee to every State in this union a republican form of government," which is incompatible with the toleration of slavery.

14. The main business of civil government is to be performed by the Judiciary; and a reformation of that department, both in the State and Nation, is imperiously demanded.

The oath of the judge and juror to decide each case according to law and evidence is (and should be legislatively defined to be) an oath to "do justice and execute judgment" upon the maxims of common law, that "the reasonableness of law is the soul of law," that "no human laws have any validity if contrary to this," and that all enactments "contrary to reason are void." And judicial proceedings and the expenses attending them should be such as to make the laws available for the poor as well as for the rich.

15. Liabilities for debt ought not to deprive families of suitable habitations, with the furniture necessary for their comfort—a homestead secured by an exemption law.

16. The public lands should be distributed in small parcels to landless men, for the mere cost of distribution.

17. The government has no right to monopolize

the business of transporting letters, newspapers, or any other freight, either by sea or land.

18. While the government may not prescribe the religious faith and worship of the citizen, and the Constitution should contain no religious tests, either of citizenship or of office, yet it is wicked, absurd and unsafe for the citizens in their exercise of the right of suffrage, to commit their liberties for safe-keeping into the hands of unprincipled, licentious, dishonest and unjust men, who fear not God nor regard man,—nor into the hands of those who are themselves enslaved by spiritual or ecclesiastical despotism, or who lend their support to the religious bodies that are the apologists or supporters of despotism, especially in the extreme degree of chattel enslavement.

19. Secret societies for the exclusive benefit of their members, especially in a free country, and bound together by extra-judicial oaths, have the appearance of combinations and conspiracies of a part of the people against the whole; are liable to great abuses, and especially to the monopoly of pecuniary advantages and political power—are of suspicious morality and demoralizing tendency, and ought, therefore to be discountenanced at the ballot-box, by a people commendably jealous of their liberties.

REASONS FOR ACTION.

We conceive that civil government has no moral right to compromise or postpone the discharge of any one class of its duties for the sake of attending to another class; that it is inadmissible in morals and suicidal in policy to attempt the redress of any moral and political wrongs while tacitly consenting to any other moral and political wrongs. And we hold that individual voters and political associations of citizens have no moral right to propose any object or objects short of the entire discharge of *all* the duties of civil government, namely, the protection of the equal rights of *all men*.

To organize or to sustain a political party that is not a *party of the whole*, is to organize and sustain a *faction*, which is morally and politically wrong. However just and important may be the object or objects of a political association, if, in its exclusive attention to these, it affects neutrality in respect to the discharge of other duties devolving on civil government, and will not entertain the consideration of them, it forfeits the confidence of good citizens. Nearly all the political injustice in the world has its origin in the error of attempting to protect the rights of *one class*; and refusing to protect the right of *all men*.

The same principles of natural justice and equity that demand the protection of the rights of *one class* of persons demand the protection of the rights of *all classes*.

Civil government is a science, being founded on fixed natural laws, self-evident and well ascertained. The administration of government must be scientific—must steadily conform to the fundamental principles or laws of civil government, in order to secure harmonious and beneficial action. To manage *one* wheel of the machine in accordance with the known laws of nature that regulate its motion, and yet refuse to manage other parts of the same machine in obedience to the same laws, is the height of absurd.

ity and folly, and can only result in disappointment, defeat and disaster, as the political history of the world shows.

That the Liberty party as a national party was originally organized on this basis, the explicit declaration of the Convention by which it was organized, at Albany, April 1, 1840, prove. They are as follows:

"Resolved, That while we consider the **ABOLITION OF SLAVERY** as paramount to all other questions of national politics, and have nominated and expect to nominate **AND TO ELECT**, with a special view to this vital question, *we by no means lose sight of numerous other questions*, in which all who are to be affected directly or indirectly by our government are deeply interested, and we consider that **OUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE**, to wit, that **ALL MEN** within its jurisdiction are, **AS MEN**, entitled to an **EQUAL PARTICIPATION** in the benefits of our government, does decide all these questions in favor of the general good, by deciding them in favor of the *widest and largest LIBERTY* that can flourish under **JUST LAWS**.

"Resolved, That as Abolitionists it is our duty, and as American citizens it is the duty of all, instead of supporting a first, second, or third *party*, to **RISE ABOVE ALL PARTY**, and unite as patriots, philanthropists and Christians, to put down the slavocracy of all parties, and put up the **PRINCIPLES** of the Declaration of Independence, at the ballot-box, and every where else, by every lawful, constitutional, moral and religious influence."

In another resolution the Convention characterized slavery as—

"Generating the prevalence of selfishness over public spirit, and therefore utterly inconsistent with the exalted purposes of free government."

And in a resolution announcing the names of their candidates for President and Vice President, they speak of them as—

"Firmly devoted to the principles of **HUMAN RIGHTS**, and capable of applying them discreetly and efficaciously for the **ABOLITION OF SLAVERY** and for the promotion of **ALL OUR OTHER PUBLIC INTERESTS**, as far as the offices to which we would call them constitutionally permit," &c.

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The second National Liberty Convention, held in the city of New York, May 12 and 13, 1841, discussed and adopted an elaborate **ADDRESS**, which occupied nearly nine long newspaper columns, of which two full columns were devoted to the subject of political economy. And if all the details of its future policy, as a political party, were not fully matured, the *necessity* of doing so at some future time was distinctly recognized, the **PRINCIPLES** by which that policy should be moulded were developed with much prominence, and not a few pregnant indications and specimens of the application of those principles were, even then, at that early day, with precision laid down. A brief abstract from this document must suffice us here.

In reply to the then rising inquiry, what course the Liberty party would be likely to pursue in respect to the other great interests "commonly supposed to

have no manner of connection with the principles of human rights, as involved in the slave question," the Convention suggested, in the first place, that the full adjustment might be "left open for future consideration" and decided by the party "in the light of its ever increasing wisdom, under the guidance of a wise course of experimental endeavors." They answered (and very truly) in the second place, that "the great pecuniary, financial and money interests of the country" were more deeply affected by slavery than by any of the other causes in debate between the old parties. They answered, in the third place, that the overthrow of the slave power would remove the chief obstacle in the way of a harmonious and permanent adjustment of the controverted questions, and put an end to those never-ending changes and fluctuations, so capriciously, yet systematically inflicted upon us by that power. They answered in the fourth place, that many questions now earnestly contested would lose all their significance and could never again be revived, if a system of free labor should prevail over the whole country. They answered, in the fifth place, that "the **GREAT DOCTRINE OF HUMAN RIGHTS**, as involved in the question of abolition, in other words, the fundamental principles of **HUMAN EQUALITY, JUSTICE, MERCY, HUMANITY**, regard for human nature as such, irrespective of factitious and artificial distinctions, and in opposition to arbitrary and aristocratic claims, **THESE** (the very elements and life-blood of abolitionism,) comprise not only the **BEST** but the **ONLY SURE STANDARD AND TEST**, by which all the apparently subordinate and doubtful questions of legislation and of political economy should be decided."

And under this head they added—

"It is only in the light of these **GREAT PRINCIPLES** (which no administration but an anti-slavery one will ever embrace or thoroughly understand,) that any clue can be found to those perplexing problems about which narrow-minded and mere selfish politicians so constantly wrangle, without ever settling them at all, or placing them upon any permanent or sure basis. The great **END** of human government is the **PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS** of men, the preservation of the public peace and safety: and where this end is duly regarded, the advancement of the public prosperity cannot but be secured on the most equitable and stable basis. Without undertaking, therefore, to *foretell* precisely every public measure of political economy which a thoroughly abolitionized national administration would find it proper to adopt, we may venture to specify a few things which it would **NOT** do." * * *

"It would not long remain silent or inactive, in its diplomatic relations, in respect to the iniquitous Corn Laws of Great Britain, by which the poor in one nation are made the victims of the lordly rapacity of those who should protect them, and by which the free agriculturists of another and a kindred nation are debarr'd from using the natural market for their products." * * *

"It would not solicitously seek, as an object of great public concernment and utility, either by the aid of a Sub-Treasury, a National Bank, or any other instrumentality or institution, devised for the pur-

pose, an artificial and forced 'equalization of exchanges' between the free laboring North, and the spendthrift, dependent, and poverty-stricken South, whereby the latter may be relieved from the disadvantages of their condition, by the manifest and gross robbery of the former."

"It would not shape its measures in conformity with the corrupt principle that wealth is the chief object of legislation, that its possession is the proof of merit, that its acquisition is the great end of national policy, to the promotion of which the social, intellectual and moral interests of man may be innocently sacrificed."

"It would not plunge the country into needless, wicked, ruinous, and disgraceful wars, especially with the red men of the forest, on our frontiers. Least of all would it do this for the inglorious purpose of sending the hardy yeomanry of the North, at their own expense, and at the bidding of the slaveholder, on the bloodhound errand of scenting the track of fugitive slaves across the everglades of Florida, and kidnapping men, women and children, for victims on the altar of slavery."

"In the expenditures of the government it would not burden the people with unnecessary appropriations, either for extravagant salaries, or for the maintenance of magnificence, and idle and anti-republican splendor and show."

"It would not violate the public morality, or invade human rights, on any pleas of State necessity, however plausibly and importunately they might be urged. It would not favor or tolerate unjust or anti-republican MONOPOLIES of any kind, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, in any department of political action."

"In the activities of state, county, township, village and city politics, the friends of impartial liberty and inalienable human rights, if true to their trust, will not fail to array themselves against those disgraceful and wicked arrangements through which vice is licensed by law, the morals of the people undermined by their professed and constitutional guardians, and crime and pauperism created under authority of the State, for the emolument of gamblers, venders of strong drink, and other panders of vice."

Other portions of the same Address insisted that "the very object for which civil government was instituted among men" was "the defence of the poor and needy." And it carefully guarded against the idea that this defence was to be extended exclusively to those actually enslaved. It insisted that "whether power was to be exercised on a broad or on a narrow scale," a "regard for human rights" was the grand, the indispensable qualification for office—that "the UNFORTUNATE AND THE POOR IN OUR MIDST," (here, at the North,) "ought not to be put into the hands of those who look with contempt upon the slave," nor our sons placed under the direction of "path masters who had not learned the important distinction between a laboring man and a working beast."

The same Address suggested the propriety of such a change in the Constitution of the United States, as should "place the choice of President and Vice President of the United States in the hands of the people themselves, without the intervention of a College of Electors."

The Convention further said—

"In demanding the redress of the slave's wrongs, in the first place, as the great paramount object of our political endeavors, we do not forget that there are *other* wrongs to be redressed. But we select as most important, the case most palpable, and immeasurably the most grievous and pressing—the case of the uncomplaining and the dumb, who cannot plead for themselves—the case of *OTHERS*, as well as *OUR OWN*. In this way only can those who seek other and minor political reformations, evince either the sincerity, the impartiality, or the consistency of their demands."

"With this expose of their views, the Convention indulge the hope that, in the minds of reflecting and good men, they will not be thought to have lost sight of the various interests and objects to which the attention of the patriot and the statesman should be directed in the activities of political life. If charged with being men of *ONE IDEA* in respect to public affairs, they ask that the comprehensiveness, and scope, and magnitude of that one idea may be well gauged, weighed, appreciated, and understood. It is the idea that righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is the reproach of any people. It is the idea that all human power is derived from the Creator of men, and unless wielded in conformity with his laws, must become a curse instead of a blessing to mankind. It is the idea that *LAW* is for the preservation of *RIGHTS*. It is the idea that *GOD* governs the world—that it is always good policy to do *right*, and bad policy to do *wrong*."

The same National Convention that issued this Address appointed a large committee of citizens of the State of New York, as a "deputation to wait on the members of the Legislature now in session, and urge the passage of the bills now pending for the repeal of the nine months law, and for amending the Constitution in reference to the right of suffrage;" [so as to extend the right to our colored fellow-citizens on the same terms as to the whites.]

The same Convention passed a vote of thanks to Joshua Leavitt for his statistical tables and memorial to Congress, "praying the adoption of measures to secure an equitable and adequate market for American wheat." And "on motion of C. Chamberlain, of Indiana, it was

"Resolved, That duty, patriotism, and humanity, call upon all Americans to unite heartily and fully in the effort to remove all oppressive laws, and to establish *EQUAL RIGHTS*, and the impartial administration of justice *THROUGHOUT THE LAND*."

THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The third National Liberty Convention, held at Buffalo, August 30, 1843, adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized for any *temporary* purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people, in consequence of a conviction hourly gaining ground that no other party in the country represents truly the principles of American liberty and the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States."

"Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been originated *MERELY* for the overthrow of slavery. Its first and most decided effort must indeed be di-

rected against slaveholding, as the grossest and most revolting form of despotism, but it will also carry out the principles of equal rights into all their practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure, conducive to social and individual freedom.

"Resolved, That the Liberty party is not a sectional party, but a National party, has NOT originated in a desire to accomplish a SINGLE object, but in a comprehensive regard to the interests of this whole country—is not a new party, or a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the PRINCIPLES of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application."²*

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION, 1842.

The New York State Liberty Convention held at New York Mills, August 10, 1842, adopted and issued an Address, containing the paragraph that follows:

"In the bearing of economy on politics we shall be men of principle. One who invades rights in commercial, can hardly defend them in his political relations. Whatever goes to exalt one by the degradation of another we should frown upon. The poor, the desponding, the oppressed, these are our brethren, the world over. Let us spurn the thought of rising on their ruin."

MASSACHUSETTS, 1842.

An Address to the voters of Massachusetts, Nov. 8, 1842, contains the following:

"Vote for those only who stand disconnected from pro-slavery parties, and who will fearlessly carry out the fundamental principles of equal rights in all legislation."

OHIO STATE CONVENTION, 1842.

An Ohio State Liberty Convention, Jan. 4 and 5, 1842, issued, in its Address, the following:

"The creed of our fathers is our creed. Their faith is our faith. In our State legislation we desire a repeal of the oppressive laws which degrade the black without benefitting the white. We would encourage the colored people in virtue and knowledge by suitable legislative provisions. We therefore give to the breeze the banner of Constitutional Liberty. We inscribe on its folds Liberty, Equal Rights, Protection to Free Labor, Public Economy."

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, in his letter of acceptance of the nomination of the Liberty party, as its candidate for President of the United States, dated Jan. 10, 1842, expresses himself thus—

"What is our object? Liberty. That Liberty that is the twin brother of Justice—the Liberty that respects and protects the rights, not of the weak only, or of the strong only, but of the weak and the strong, and simply because they are HUMAN RIGHTS."

ROCHESTER CONVENTION—MYRON HOLLEY.

The earliest incipient measures for local indepen-

dent anti-slavery nominations, before any National Liberty party was organized, were strongly marked by similar features. The Monroe county (N. Y.) Convention for county nominations, held at Rochester Sept. 28, 1839, adopted a series of resolutions and an Address prepared by Myron Holley, from which we extract the following:

"Resolved, That under a solemn conviction of the truth of the preceding resolutions, and with no other views than to restore and preserve the COMMON LIBERTIES OF THE NATION, including the poor as well as the rich, the slave as well as the free, we now set up the political standard of Equal Rights in our country, and commence our most earnest exertions to rally the nation under it, devoutly imploring the God of Freedom, our fathers' God, and our God, to give us and our fellow-citizens wisdom and power to sustain it, till its broad folds shall overspread and shelter every human being within our borders."

In their Address the Convention said—

"Let a party of disinterested, intelligent, virtuous men be formed, taking the true ground of Universal Freedom, Universal Justice and Equal Rights, and it will soon attract all the strong powers of the human spirit to work in its behalf. It will compel good men to shake off their old party ties for the sake of joining it."

"Let us then form a new party—not for the purpose of defeating any proper object of either of the existing parties, but for uniting with all that is most valuable in the objects of both, the incomparably greater object of securing, with equal and paternal care, the Universal Rights and interests of all the States, and all the people of our glorious Union. Under the standard of such a party all the good may flock together, and find their common home."

PREVIOUS DISCUSSION.

The discussions which preceded and accompanied the organization of the Liberty party, were deeply imbued with the same spirit. Among the earliest paragraphs ever published, looking in the direction of a distinct political organization of abolitionists, was the following from the pen of the lamented CHARLES FOLLEN:

"It becomes those who have not lost all sense of the dignity of human nature, to declare that they consider the Personal Rights of Man as the foundation of every other; and that they cannot recognize any property which is inconsistent with that which every human being holds in his own soul and body. If there is ever to be in this country a Party that shall take its character and name, not from particular liberal measures, or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to FREEDOM, a truly liberal and thoroughly republican party, it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of oppression, and having taken anti-slavery ground, it must carry out the principles of liberty in all their consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual and social, moral, intellectual, religious and civil freedom, whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slaveholders or consistent freemen. It must embrace

* Another series of resolutions, adopted by the same Convention, affirmed the common law principle, that enactments contrary to the divine law are null and void, &c.

the whole sphere of human action, watching and opposing the slightest illiberal, anti-republican tendency, and concentrating its whole force and influence against slavery itself, in comparison with which every other species of tyranny is tolerable, by which every other is strengthened and justified."

It is but just, in this connection, to present a paragraph of perhaps a still earlier date, from the pen of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

"We do indeed need a CHRISTIAN party in politics—not made up of this or that sect or denomination, but of all who fear God and keep his commandments, and who sincerely desire to seek judgment and relieve the oppressed. I know it is the belief of many professedly good men that they ought not to meddle with politics, but they are cherishing a delusion, which, if it do not prove fatal to their own souls, may prove the destruction of their country."—*Liberator*, Dec. 20, 1834.

By the side of these *earliest* hints concerning the organization of a true Liberty party, we may add what may be regarded as the *summing up* of the argument, about the time the measure was adopted:

"If we are to have organized political action, let us, in the first place, see well to it, that our association does not set up for its object any thing short of the ENTIRE object for which civil government was instituted, viz: to 'execute judgment between a man and his neighbor.' If abolitionists should make their own rights—or the rights of the slaves, even, their EXCLUSIVE object, their *hobby*, to the neglect of other men's rights, and in forgetfulness of other great moral objects properly belonging to the department of civil government, they would lose their hold on the public confidence, they would belittle their enterprise, they would dwindle down to the stature of other political partizans, struggling, each for their own objects—right, perhaps, in themselves—but too narrow for the great work for which God and humanity will hold all men accountable who undertake to wield the powers of civil government."—*Friend of Man*, March 11, 1840.

THE CALL of the first National Liberty Convention at Albany, was issued by order of the N. Y. S. Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Arcade, Genesee county, 28th and 29th of January, 1840. This call was signed by R. Sleeper, of Mount Morris, Livingston county, and contained the following:

"Those who wish to provide equal *civil* security for the rights of ALL MEN, are earnestly invited to attend."

RESPONSE TO THE FIRST NOMINATIONS.

The Central Corresponding Committee appointed by the National Anti-Slavery Nominating Convention at Albany, April 1, 1840, soon after issued a call for a meeting of the friends of the nomination, which was accordingly held in Columbian Hall, in Grand street, city of New York, May 13th, and by adjournment to the corner of Catherine and Madison streets, May 14th. At this Convention, BENJAMIN SHAW, of Vermont, presided. George R. Barker, of N. Y., Joshua Leavitt, of New Jersey, and C. T. Torrey, of Mass., were Secretaries. On the roll of members in attendance from *ten States*, were the names following, among others, viz: Ichabod Cod-

ding, C. L. Knapp, Josiah Hayden, Roger Leavitt, David Plumb, Samuel Wells, John Mosher, E. W. Goodwin, David Cushman, Wm. Tracy, J. W. Hill, Wyllys Ames, Samuel D. Hastings, Robert Hanna.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the application of the *principles* of our enterprise TO EVERY INTEREST OF SOCIETY is called for by the condition of our country, and the demands of justice and humanity.

"Resolved, That while we regard the question of SLAVERY as the greatest political question now extensively agitated before the country, and are determined not to sacrifice nor defer the cause of freedom to any other political measure, we will, nevertheless, sustain as important and essential principles the equal political and civil rights of ALL MEN, and will oppose the principle and the practice of partial and exclusive privileges, whether in reference to business, suffrage, or eligibility to public stations, recognizing no legalized prerogatives on account of birth, wealth, learning or complexion."

The Emancipator of May 22d, 1840, in publishing the preceding resolutions, and announcing the candidates, says:

"Messrs. Birney and Earle having consented to place their names at the disposal of the friends of HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUAL LAWS, for the ensuing Presidential canvass, we hope all anti-slavery papers will place the Liberty ticket in a conspicuous part of their columns."

It appears from these records that the Liberty party is already pledged by the acts of all its successive National Conventions to the main principles of the Declaration we have now made—that it stands pledged to *abide* by these principles and to carry them out into consistent action—that, especially, it has repudiated the idea that the party is to confine its efforts to the one object of abolishing chattel slavery."

Whenever any comprehensive and broad principles are thus publicly announced as the basis of any organized body of men, the very announcement, indeed, if it have any meaning, amounts to a promise to *apply* those principles, every where within the legitimate sphere of their application. A failure to do so as occasions arise, is a virtual abandonment of the original basis of the association. It is equally so to refuse entertaining respectfully the inquiry, whenever distinctly raised, whether the fundamental principles thus expressed do not require a specific and particular course of action, designated by the inquirers.

We regret to say that the course of a great majority of Liberty editors does not, in our view, appear to have been shaped in the light of these considerations. Until the question of *free trade* began to be distinctly agitated by some in the Liberty party, and until it began to be perceived and admitted that free trade was, "in the abstract," in accordance with the fundamental principles that lie at the basis of the anti-slavery enterprise, we have no recollection that any prominent man in the Liberty party denied that the party was designed to cover the entire field of political responsibility, or assumed that it was not, in the progress of its devel-

opment, to take ground on other questions beside that of chattel enslavement. But since the question of free trade has been brought forward, it has been strenuously insisted, in flat contradiction to the thrice repeated declarations of the party in National Conventions, (to say nothing of local and State Conventions) *that nothing except the abolition of chattel slavery is to engage its attention.* The discussion of free trade and other kindred topics, and especially the duty of the Liberty party to define its position in respect to them, has been shut out of Liberty Conventions and Liberty papers, with few and solitary exceptions. We complain that the question has not been met, in the manly and fraternal manner that it should have been, a circumstance that places us in a disadvantageous position, and obliges us to take a course that we think would have been otherwise unnecessary. Could access have been had to the great mass of the Liberty party in this discussion, we have reason to think, from the little experience we have been permitted to enjoy, that our objects could have been otherwise reached than by the call of the proposed Convention, in the present form.

We have claimed the attention of our brethren in the Liberty party to our views of free trade, *not* merely on the intrinsic merits of that question alone, but because we hold the abolition of the Custom-House to be the most safe and effectual mode of abolishing slavery—the only one, in fact, except that *direct* action of the Federal Government against slavery, under our Constitution construed as an anti-slavery instrument, which the Liberty party, as a whole, seems not in a present position to entertain, and which it would be difficult to effect so long as the Slave Power is supplied with the vast revenues which the Custom-House lays at its feet. And yet the abolition of the Custom-House, as a means of abolishing slavery, it is said, cannot be entertained by the Liberty party, because it is pledged to confine itself to the “One Idea” of abolishing chattel slavery, and let every thing else alone! And this amounts, practically, in our view, to saying, that the Liberty party is pledged to the abolition of slavery, *provided* it can be done without disturbing the Custom-House, and “the tariff as it is;” a result which we have no expectation of seeing realized. We have no such provisos in our Liberty creed.

If the Liberty party can neither propose the abolition of the Custom-House, nor yet the direct action of the Federal Government against slavery, we do not see how, as a Liberty party, or by any other process of political action, we can effect the abolition of slavery under the present Constitution.

If the Federal Constitution cannot, in some way, be wielded for the abolition of slavery, then it cannot “secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” It cannot effect its avowed object. In that case, the Liberty party ought to demand either a new or amended Constitution, and, if this cannot be effected, a peaceable dissolution of the Union. Of this last alternative we have no fears.

But if slavery be illegal and unconstitutional—if the Federal Constitution authorizes and demands its abolition, then the determination of the Liberty party to wield the constitutional powers of the Federal

Government for that object should be openly avowed. If the South chooses to do so, let her peacefully secede. This we hold to be our true and straight forward course. This flag we intend to raise.

By doing this, and by distinctly committing ourselves, upon all the great political questions of the day, disposing of them all in the light of the idea of equal and inalienable rights, we shall vindicate our honesty and consistency before the world, as true and faithful men, and gather around us the wisest and best friends of genuine freedom. We shall for ever settle the question whether we are to merge ourselves in the Whig or the so-called Democratic parties, or any other party that is not (what we shall be) **THE PARTY OF THE WHOLE.** Nor shall we be pressed with the temptation, ever and anon, to step out of our Liberty party to discharge some of the political duties pressing upon us, and for which the organic structure of our party is not supposed to provide. Such a party as we propose, (if it may be called a party,) will be a stable party, by reposing for ever on the basis of the same principle, and constantly progressive, by the continual application of those principles to all the new questions which, in the course of human events, may arise. The true conservatism and the real radicalism may thus be harmoniously combined.

The experience and present position and prospects of the Liberty party furnish instructive comments upon these observations. It is found impracticable, (as it ought to be,) to enlist the great body of our citizens in a party that boasts its exclusive attention to only *one* specific application of the principles of equity, refusing to consider any *other* application of the same principle, however vital the question may be, and involving the fate of even the favorite measure itself. The results of such political action in other lands; the **TARIFF** oppressions of the half emancipated and landless peasantry of the British West Indies; the tariff starvation of the landless peasantry of Scotland and Ireland, are beacon-warnings, and admonish us of the folly of counting unlimited and unconditional adherence to the **TRUE** and the **RIGHT**, as burthens too heavy for our shoulders!

It is found, too, that the portions of the Liberty party, most strenuously insisting on this narrow policy, are nevertheless the very portion of the party most ready, on the slightest grounds, to run out of the party, “just for this once,” and co-operate with the supporters of slavery; a process by means of which it has become impossible to count upon our men, in any emergency, or to know who or where the members of the Liberty party are. One day they are here—the next there: and persons claim a standing in the party, whose votes, one half the time, are bestowed upon its bitterest revilers.

That the Liberty party, on *such* a basis, can be a permanent party, no sagacious politician can suppose; and hence, in and out of the party, there is an ever restless and inquisitive looking forward to the time when it shall *disband!* In wide sections of the country, the Liberty party is held by its principal leaders to be a mere “balance of power” party, standing ready, on any favorable emergency, to throw its weight into the scale of “the most favorable party.” Negotiations between prominent Lib-

erty men and Whigs have recently been informally had, and the correspondence, in part, is before the public. A basis, even less comprehensive than that of even the majority of Liberty editors, has been suggested, viz: the simple withdrawal of the support of the Federal Government from slavery, upon the false assumption that a national administration either *can* or *ought* to be neutral, and not wield the government either for or against slavery. Co-operation with those who vote for slaveholders, (a policy already familiar to those who claim to be so exclusively devoted to the abolition of slavery!) appears to be one feature of the proposition. Indeed, it is explicitly said that the members of the proposed and more comprehensive anti-slavery league may continue to remain in their respective political parties. This carries us back to "the questioning system" in use before we had any distinct party—another feature of policy occasionally resorted to, by those who boast their exclusive devotion to the "one idea" of abolishing slavery. That the Liberty party could long survive such a policy, it were idle to pretend. And in fact the design of "superceding, ultimately the Liberty party" by this process has been recently and openly avowed by prominent Liberty men. At the Chicago Convention, incipient measures were taken for calling a political anti-slavery convention, irrespective of parties. It has been claimed by the friends of the measure, that all the Liberty editors except one or two were in favor of the measure. On the committee for calling such a convention are prominent Whigs, still adhering to the policy of voting for slaveholders.—The hesitancy since manifested in certain quarters, in respect to this measure, may, perhaps, hold it in check for a time, or hang it up in suspense, the very worst position in which, at the approach of a Presidential election, the party could be placed. Such a suspense, or uncertainty in respect to our own course, we are determined to terminate.

That the specific project to which we have alluded will ever be carried into operation in that precise shape, we do not presume to predict; especially if the call we now issue shall receive a cordial response. But we do consider it, in its main aspects, an infallible indication of the fate of the Liberty party, if it is any longer permitted to float on, undisturbed, in the current in which it has been drifting for some time past. We do say distinctly, and with great confidence, that without a consistent, well defined and distinctly enunciated declaration of its position on all the great practical questions before the country, and in which the rights of the citizens, the security of our liberties, as well as the liberation of the slaves, are *together* involved, the Liberty party cannot, in the very nature of the case, escape absorption in one of the other political parties, to the shipwreck of all the objects for which it was originally organized, including, signally, the defeat for the present generation of the anti-slavery enterprise, so far as political action is concerned.

To our own convictions of truth and duty we are bound, as truthful and conscientious men, to adhere. We have taken this step, reluctantly, deliberately, and not until we could not, and dared not, longer defer it. We cordially invite the entire Liberty party, and all who perceive the correctness of our position, to come with us—to attend the Convention we have invited, and assist in laying the foundation of a course of political action which shall secure the rights of *all* the inhabitants of this country, *irrespective of condition or color*.

WILLIAM GOODELL, Honeoye.
 ABRAM PENNELL, "
 GIDEON PITTS, "
 WILLIAM D. BABBITT, "
 JOHN PENNELL, JR., "
 HIRAM PITTS, "
 D. BENTON PITTS, "
 LEVI NOBLE, "
 DENNIS PENNELL, "
 BENONI GREEN, "
 ELIAS S. GILBERT, Richmond.
 JAMES C. JACKSON, Peterboro.
 HERVEY BLACKMER, Livonia.
 BENJAMIN L. STEDMAN, "
 S. B. FOWLER, "
 B. RICHMOND, "
 S. E. ADAMS, "
 J. R. DEWSTOE, Lakeville.
 J. B. DEWSTOE, "
 S. R. DEWSTOE, "
 JOSEPH HAYNES, Geneseo.
 JOHN G. HAYNES, "
 JOHN W. TAYLOR, Bristol.
 S. A. CODDING, "
 E. LUTHER, "
 LEVI B. WOODARD, Canandaigua.
 A. B. SMITH, Macedon.
 WILLIAM R. SMITH, "
 ABRAM PRYNE, "
 DANIEL M. SMITH, Walworth.
 SAMUEL E. PEACOCK, "
 HIRAM TIFFANY, "
 A. W. TURNER, Ontario.
 J. W. SHERMAN, "
 EBENEZER GOULD, "
 JOHN PHILLIPS, Webster.
 WILLIAM MORGAN, "
 E. S. DATON, JR., "
 JARVIS SHERMAN, Henrietta.
 HIRAM SMITH, "
 HENRY QUIMBY, Mendon.
 JESSE F. SHEPARD, West Bloomfield.
 WILLIAM F. SHELTON, "
 CHARLES C. FOOTE, Stone Church.
 LUTHER C. PIERSONS, "
 HIRAM DANIELS, Nunda.
 CHARLES H. RANDALL, "

Declaration of Sentiments of the National Liberty Convention held in Buffalo, August 30, 1843.

Preamble: Being assembled in general Convention, as the Representatives of the Liberty Party in the United States, and feeling it incumbent on us to set forth, clearly and fully, the principles which govern us, and the purpose which we seek to accomplish—and this the rather, because these principles and purposes have been much misunderstood, and either ignorantly or maliciously, much misrepresented; be it therefore,

1. Resolved, That human brotherhood is a cardinal doctrine of true Democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurs all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, nor controlled in its practical workings by it, can be truly Democratic or permanent.

2. Resolved, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon the broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from Slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights, among men in every State where the party exists or may exist.

3. Resolved, That the Liberty Party, has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American Liberty or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

4. Resolved, That the Liberty Party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of Slavery. Its first decided effort must indeed be directed against slaveholding, as the most revolting manifestation of despotism; but it will also carry out the principles of Equal Rights into all their practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

5. Resolved, That the Liberty Party is not a sectional, but a National party; has not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interest of the whole country; it is not a new party, or a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

6. Resolved, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the Constitution, that the existence of slavery in some of the States, was in derogation of the principles of American Liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country; and the implied faith of the States and the Nation, was pledged, that Slavery should never be extended beyond the then existing limits; but should be gradually, and yet, at no distant day, wholly abolished by State authority.

7. Resolved, That the faith of the States and the Nation thus pledged, was nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the States, and by the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory North-West in the river Ohio, then the only territory of the United States, and consequently the only territory subject in this respect, to the control of Congress—by which ordinance slavery was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the Territory of Wisconsin; and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen was impressed on the soil itself.

8. Resolved, That the faith of the States and Nation thus pledged, has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the States, to take any measure whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection afforded by the national legislation and negotiation to slaveholding in American vessels on the high seas, employed in the coastwise slave traffic; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits by acts of Congress, admitting new slave States into the Union.

9. That the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our National Government, by that amendment of the constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.

10. Resolved, That we recognize as sound, the doctrine maintained by slaveholding Jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rests on no other support than State legislation, and not on any authority of Congress.

11. Resolved, That the General Government has, under the Constitution, no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive natural jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

12. Resolved, That provisions of the Constitution of the United States which confers extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constitutes the 250,000 slaveholders, in the slave States, a privileged aristocracy; and the provisions for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.

13. Resolved, That the operation of the first of those provisions is seen in the growth of a power in the country, hostile to free institutions, to free labor, and to freedom itself, which is appropriately denominated the SLAVE POWER. This power has maintained slavery in the original States, has secured its continuance in the District and in the Territories, has created seven new slave States, has caused disastrous fluctuations in our national policy, foreign and domestic, has gradually usurped the control of our home legislation, has waged unrelenting war against the most sacred rights of freemen, has violated and set at naught the right of petition, has dictated the action of political parties, has filled almost all the offices of the National Government with slaveholders, and the abettors of slaveholders, and threatens, if not arrested in its career, the total overthrow of popular freedom.

14. Resolved, That the practical operation of the second of the provisions is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaped from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg, vs. Pennsylvania, be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought therefore to be immediately repealed.

15. Resolved, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery, and slaveholding, by the General Government, ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

Resolved, That that party only which adopts in good faith the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and proposes, whenever and wherever it may obtain the necessary political power, to administer the national and State governments in conformity to these principles, without regard to any other considerations.

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Resolved, That that party only which adopts in good faith the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and proposes, whenever and wherever it may obtain the necessary political power, to administer the national and State governments in conformity to those principles, without regard to persons, and therefore to direct, openly and honestly, its most decisive and energetic action against slavery, and the oppression which originates in slavery, as the greatest evil and most threatening danger of our day and nation, and then to oppose all measures which endanger, and to support all measures which favor human liberty, is the true Democratic party of the United States.

Resolved, That we love the Union, and desire its perpetuity, and revere the Constitution, and are determined to maintain it; but the Union which we love must be an union to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty: and the Constitution which we support must be that which our fathers bequeathed to us, and not that which the constructions of slavery and servilism have substituted for it.

Resolved, That as a national party our purpose and determination is to divorce the national government from slavery, to prohibit slaveholding in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction, to abolish the domestic slave trade, to harmonize the administration of the government, in all its departments, with the principles of the declaration; and, in all proper and constitutional modes, to discourage and discontinue the system of work without wages, but not to interfere unconstitutionally with the local legislation of particular States.

Resolved, That we are not indifferent to questions of trade or currency, or extension of territory, or to any other question relating to the prosperity and advancement of the country; but we have no doubt that those who are willing to subordinate these questions to the great question of personal rights, will be able, wherever they become responsible by the possession of power, to adjust these matters upon a satisfactory basis: in the meantime, if we differ somewhat among ourselves as to the questions, we have the consolation of knowing that the members of no other party are entirely agreed upon them.—*Resolutions passed by the Cincinnati Convention.*

The great end of human government is the protection of the rights of men, and the preservation of the public peace and safety; and where this end is duly regarded, the advancement of the public prosperity cannot but be secured on the most equitable and stable basis.

Without undertaking, therefore, to foretell precisely every measure of political economy which a thoroughly abolitionized national administration would find it proper to adopt, we may venture to specify a few things which such an administration would *not* do.

It would not busy itself perpetually with expedients to enhance the price of the products of slave labor, and to open markets for them in all parts of the known world, while it studiously avoided doing anything to procure a market for the free products of the grain-growing Northwest. It would not long remain silent or inactive, in its diplomatic relations, in relation to the iniquitous corn-laws of Great Britain, by which the poor in one nation are made victims of the lordly rapacity of those who should protect them, and kindred nations are debarred from using the natural market for their products.

It would not shape its measures in conformity with the corrupt principle, that wealth is the chief object of legislation, that its possession is the proof of merit, and that its acquisition is the great end of national policy, to the promotion of which the social, intellectual, and moral interests of man may be innocently sacrificed.

In disposing of the public lands, it would not select the methods best adapted to secure an inequality of distribution, for the special benefit of slaveholders, at the expense and to the discouragement of the free-laboring emigrant and settler. It would not seek to tax and restrict the free-laboring States, in order to grant exclusive privileges and exemptions to the slaveholding South.

It would not favor or tolerate unjust or anti-republican monopolies of any kind, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, in any department of legislative action.—*Address of the National Liberty Convention of 1841, written by Wm. Goodell.*